

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 LUSAKA 00756 01 OF 02 221457Z

ACTION AF-04

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 NSC-05 NSCE-00 CIAE-00 INR-05

SSO-00 IO-06 PRS-01 L-01 EUR-08 ACDA-10 DODE-00

INRE-00 DHA-01 EB-04 /060 W

-----221739Z 039858 /40

O R 221300Z MAR 77

FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5247

INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY ACCRA

AMEMBASSY GABORONE

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LILONGWE

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO

AMEMBASSY MONROVIA

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN

DUEHDT/USUN NEW YORK 1210

C G N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 LUSAKA 0756

LIMDIS

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, RH

SUBJ: CONVERSATION WITH JOSHUA NKOMO

REF: (A) LUSAKA 0748 NOTAL (B) STATE 061203 NOTAL (C) LUSAKA
0577 AND 0588

SUMMARY: NKOMO REVIEWED SOME OF THE PAST MISTAKES IN THE
EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE A NEGOTIATED SOLUTION OF THE RHODESIAN
PROBLEM BUT HIS CHIEF PURPOSE WAS TO EXPRESS HIS OPPOSITION
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 LUSAKA 00756 01 OF 02 221457Z

TO ANY REFERENDUM IN RHODESIA UNDER SMITH, HOPING TO
DISCOURAGE ANY POSSIBLE US SUPPORT FOR IT, AND TO REQUEST
ECONOMIC HELP FOR THE YOUNGER PEOPLE NOW COMING INTO THE
ZAPU CAMPS FROM RHODESIA. END SUMMARY.

1. AT HIS REQUEST, NKOMO CAME TO SEE ME AT THE RESIDENCE
TOGETHER WITH HIS ASSISTANT JOHN NKOMO (NO RELATIVE) AS

NOTETAKER. THE CONVERSATION WAS RELAXED AND FRIENDLY, NKOMO LISTENING AND TAKING NOTE OF MY RESPONSES AS HE BUILT HIS CASE.

2. NKOMO STARTED WITH A RATHER LENGTHY COMPLAINT AT BEING DESCRIBED AS UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF FOREIGN POWERS. HIS AIM WAS THE CREATION OF A GOVERNMENT IN ZIMBABWE WHICH WAS INDEPENDENT OF ALL AND REPRESENTED THE INTERESTS OF THE MAJORITY OF THE POPULATION. I ASSURED HIM THAT WHATEVER HE MAY READ IN THE PRESS THE USG FROM THE PRESIDENT ON DOWN FULLY UNDERSTOOD THIS.

3. NKOMO DISCUSSED THE GENEVA TALKS, EXPLAINING THEIR FAILURE BY THE FACT THAT THE PARTIES CAME INTO THEM WITH VERY DIFFERENT THINGS IN MIND. SMITH WAS TALKING ABOUT MOVEMENT TOWARDS MAJORITY RULE IN TWO YEARS. THE AFRICANS WERE TALKING ABOUT INDEPENDENCE WITHIN TWO YEARS BUT BLACK CONTROL NOW. THIS WAS FAR FROM ASKING FOR A SMITH SURRENDER. THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT ITSELF WAS UNIMPORTANT. ITS CHIEF SIGNIFICANCE LAY IN THE FACT THAT IT WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR DRAWING UP THE CONSTITUTION FOR AN INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWE. NKOMO REVIEWED THE KISSINGER INITIATIVE CONTENDING THAT ON HIS RETURN FROM PRETORIA KISSINGER HAD SHOWED HIM HIS PLWN ON A PIECE OF PAPER DURING A SHORT MEETING AT STATE HOUSE. HE HAD TOLD KISSINGER IT WOULDN'T WORK, FOLLOWING WHICH A U.S. PRESS SPOKESMAN HAD IMPLIED THAT NKOMO HAD GIVEN HIS GENERAL APPROVAL. FROM THIS HE WENT ON TO A MORE GENERALIZED OBJECTION TO US/UK CONSULTATIONS WHICH PRODUCED SETTLEMENT PROPOSALS BEFORE THE NATIONALISTS HAD BEEN CONSULTED. HE DESCRIBED HIS REFUSAL TO CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 LUSAKA 00756 01 OF 02 221457Z

ACCEPT A PAPER OUTLINING THE BRITISH POSITION ON GENEVA FROM AN HMG REPRESENTATIVE IN EUROPE RECENTLY. HE DIDN'T WANT IT TO BE REPORTED THAT HE HAD ACCEPTED OR APPROVED ANOTHER BRITISH INITIATIVE. I DESCRIBED OUR WASHINGTON CONSULTATIONS AS EXPLORATORY, NOTED OUR SUPPORT FOR THE FORTHCOMING OWEN MISSION, AND OUR HOPE THAT HIS TALK WITH THE FOREIGN SECRETARY MIGHT DEVELOP A BASIS FOR FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS.

4. ACCORDING TO NKOMO, A RECENT EDITORIAL IN THE RAND DAILY MAIL DESCRIBED PRESIDENT CARTER'S UN SPEECH AS SUPPORTING A REFERENDUM IN RHODESIA. HE ASKED WHETHER I COULD GIVE HIM ANY INFORMATION ON THE MATTER. I REPLIED THAT I WAS QUITE CERTAIN THAT PRESIDENT CARTER HAD MADE NO REFERENCE TO THE SUBJECT OF A REFERENDUM IN RHODESIA, AND READ HIM THE PERTINENT SECTIONS FROM THE UN SPEECH AS WELL AS PRESIDENT CARTER'S REMARKS ON THE SIGNING OF THE BYRD AMENDMENT. I SAID I HAD NOTICED HIS REMARKS IN OPPOSITION TO A REFERENDUM PUBLISHED IN THE LUSAKA PAPERS THAT MORNING (REF A). NKOMO ELABORATED SAYING THAT HE COULD IMAGINE NO CIRCUMSTANCES UNDER WHICH HE WOULD AGREE TO

PARTICIPATE IN A REFERENDUM WITH SMITH STILL IN CONTROL. AN ELECTION CARRIED OUT UNDER AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT ACCORDING TO A CONSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE ALREADY AGREED UPON WAS ANOTHER THING. "DON'T TALK TO ME ABOUT SMITH ANYMORE," NKOMO SAID. "I NEARLY SACRIFICED MY REPUTATION WHEN I AGREED TO TALK TO HIM AFTER GETTING OUT OF PRISON. THEN I AGREED TO TALK TO HIM AGAIN IN GENEVA AT MR. KISSINGER'S URGING." BUT, HE SAID, HE SAW NO BASIS FOR ANY FURTHER DISCUSSIONS WITH SMITH. IF HE PARTICIPATED IN A REFERENDUM, HE SAID, SMITH WOULD HAVE HIM SHOT.

5. NKOMO SAID THAT FULL-SCALE WAR HAD NOT YET COME TO ZIMBABWE AND HE HOPED IT NEVER WOULD BUT EVENTS WERE RUNNING IN THAT DIRECTION AND HE WAS PREPARING FOR IT. THE EASTERN COUNTRIES WERE PROVIDING HIM ARMS WHILE THE WEST DECLINED TO HELP HIM OR THE YOUNG AFRICANS NOW POURING OUT OF ZIMBABWE. HE COMPLAINED OF THE WEST'S FAILURE TO TREAT HIM
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 LUSAKA 00756 01 OF 02 221457Z

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 LUSAKA 00756 02 OF 02 221424Z

ACTION AF-04

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 NSC-05 NSCE-00 CIAE-00 INR-05

INRE-00 SSO-00 IO-06 PRS-01 L-01 EUR-08 ACDA-10

DODE-00 DHA-01 EB-04 /060 W

-----221739Z 039431 /40

O R 221300Z MAR 77

FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5248

INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY ACCRA

AMEMBASSY GABORONE

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LILONGWE

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO

AMEMBASSY MONROVIA

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN
USUN NEW YORK 1211

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 LUSAKA 0756

LIMDIS

OR HIS MOVEMENT AS HUMAN BEINGS. WHEN HE TRAVELED TO EUROPE OR THE U.S. HE WAS RECEIVED BY ASSISTANTS TO THE ASSISTANT TO THE MINISTER. THOUGH HE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT HE HAD SEEN FORMER SECRETARY KISSINGER ON A NUMBER OF OCCASIONS, HE CONTENDED THAT WAS UNDER SPECIAL CIRCUMSTANCES. WHILE THE WEST CLAIMED THAT IT COULD NOT TAKE SIDES BY AIDING HIM, IT WAS ENGAGING IN ACTIVE TRADE AND INVESTMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA AND RHODESIA THEREBY ASSISTING COUNTRIES WHOSE GOVERNMENTS HE WAS OPPOSING. HE RECOGNIZED THAT THE TRADE WAS PRIVATELY SPONSORED AND A MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL THING. NEVERTHELESS IT DID HELP THESE GOVERNMENTS AND KEPT THEM GOING. HE ASKED, "WHAT ARE YOUR DOING FOR US?"
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 LUSAKA 00756 02 OF 02 221424Z

NOTHING." THE KENNEDY ADMINISTRATION, HE SAID, HELPED THROUGH THE PEACE CORPS (SIC). I REPLIED BY DESCRIBING THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION'S POLICIES; THE STATEMENTS BY THE PRESIDENT; THE VISIT BY AMBASSADOR YOUNG, THE REPEAL OF THE BYRD AMENDMENT, AND THE VERY HUMAN QUALITY OF THE APPROACH BEING MADE WHICH HE ACKNOWLEDGED. I SAID THE UK AND THE U.S. HAVE A UNIQUE CONTRIBUTION WHICH THEY CAN MAKE BY VIRTUE OF THEIR INFLUENCE WITH BOTH SIDES. OTHERS MIGHT BE ABLE TO SUPPLY ARMS BUT THE UK AND U.S. ALONE CAN HELP BRING A SETTLEMENT. IN ORDER TO DO SO, HOWEVER, THEY HAVE TRIED TO PRESERVE CREDIBILITY WITH BOTH SIDES WHICH HAS PRECLUDED DIRECT INVOLVEMENT WITH EITHER AND I REFERRED TO OUR EFFORT TO REMAIN EVENHANDED AMONG THE NATIONALIST ORGANIZATIONS.

6. NKOMO RETURNED TO THE "THOUSANDS OF YOUNG PEOPLE WHO HAD BEEN DRIVEN OUT OF RHODESIA" AND WHOM HE WAS NOW TRYING TO SUPPORT. THEY WERE NOT REFUGEES, HE SAID, AND HE WOULD NOT TURN THEM OVER TO THE REFUGEE CAMPS. THEY HAD APPEALED TO HIM FOR HELP AND HE WOULD ASSIST THEM. THEY NEEDED FOOD, CLOTHING, AND EDUCATION. HE SAID THE WEST HAD DONE NOTHING SO FAR FOR HIM. II HAS NOT DEMONSTRATED THAT IT REALLY SUPPORTS THE JUSTICE OF HIS CAUSE. IF IT CANNOT GIVE ARMS, IT CAN AT LEAST HELP HIM WITH THESE YOUNG PEOPLE. HE DOESN'T WANT ANYTHING TO BE GIVEN HIS SECRETLY. HE WANTS IT DONE OPENLY FOR ALL TO SEE. IF IT CAME FROM THE CIA, HE SAID, IT WOULD BE IN THE PAPER THE NEXT DAY TO EVERYONE'S EMBARRASSMENT. NOR DOES HE WANT HELP THROUGH THIRD PARTIES LIKE THE UNHRC OR INTERNATIONAL RED CROSS WHICH EAT UP ALL THE FUNDS THEMSELVES.

7. I ASSURED NKOMO ON HIS DEPARTURE THAT WE APPRECIATED CONTACTS SUCH AS CHINAMANO'S VISIT WITH AMB YOUNG AND AMB SCHAUFELLE, AS WELL AS OUR DIRECT CONTACTS WITH HIM. HE NOTED THAT HE MAY COME TO THE UNITED STATES IN THE SUMMER AROUND AUGUST AND LAUGHINGLY ADDED THAT HE WOULD PROBABLY GO TO CUBA AFTERWARDS, REFERRING TO PRESIDENT KAUNDA'S SIMILAR ITINERARY.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 LUSAKA 00756 02 OF 02 221424Z

COMMENT: NKOMO'S CONVERSATION REFLECTED HIS TWO MAIN CONCERNS: TO THWART A REFERENDUM IN RHODESIA AND TO OBTAIN MORE ECONOMIC HELP FOR HIS ZAPU CAMPS. NKOMO MAY BE WORRIED THAT SMITH MIGHT AGREE TO A REAL REFERENDUM, OPEN TO ALL TO PARTICIPATE IN, FREE TO ALL TO OBSERVE, DESIGNED TO SELECT AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT RESPONSIBLE FOR DRAWING UP A CONSTITUTION PRIOR TO A FIXED INDEPENDENCE DATE. MOST OBSERVERS IN LUSAKA BELIEVE THAT THE PATRIOTIC FRONT IS COMPARATIVELY WEAK INSIDE ZIMBABWE AND WOULD NOT FARE WELL IN SUCH A VOTE. NKOMO AND MOST OTHERS HERE DO NOT BELIEVE SMITH WILL AGREE TO A REFERENDUM OF THIS KIND AND THEREFORE DO NOT FEEL A SERIOUS PROBLEM FOR THE PF IS LIKELY TO ARISE. BUT IF SMITH SHOULD AGREE TO SUCH A REFERENDUM THE PF WOULD BE PUT IN A DIFFICULT POSITION. NKOMO, THEREFORE, WILL TRY TO USE HIS DIPLOMATIC AND PERHAPS EVEN HIS MILITARY STRENGTH OUTSIDE OF ZIMBABWE TO TRY TO THWART A REFERENDUM. WERE SMITH TO PROCEED ANYWAY AND OBTAIN LARGE PARTICIPATION IN THE ORDER OF 70 TO 80 PERCENT OF THE POPULATION, THE PF WOULD BE SERIOUSLY EMBARRASSED.

NKOMO'S SECOND MAJOR WORRY IS SUPPORT OF HIS GROWING ZAPU FORCES. THERE ARE MANY STORIES CIRCULATING IN LUSAKA ABOUT THE DEPLORABLE CONDITIONS IN THE ZAPU CAMPS. DISTRUBANCES HAVE ALREADY OCCURRED WHICH SERIOUSLY EMBARRASSED ZAPU (REFTELS C). NKOMO IS RECEIVING ADEQUATE ARMS NOW FROM THE SOVIET UNION BUT HE NEEDS ECONOMIC SUPPORT TO SUPPLY THE DEMANDS OF THE YOUNG MILITANTS WHO ARE BEING FUNNELED INTO ZAPU CAMPS, OFTEN AGAINST THEIR WILL. THIS IS BECOMING A SERIOUS MATTER FOR HIM REQUIRING EARLY RESOLUTION. LOW

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS, POLITICAL SITUATION, FORM OF GOVERNMENT
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 22-Mar-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 22 May 2009
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977LUSAKA00756
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770098-0228
Format: TEL
From: LUSAKA
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770336/aaaabeom.tel
Line Count: 268
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: a0ee34b4-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION AF
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: LIMDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: LIMDIS
Reference: 77 LUSAKA 748, 77 STATE 61203, 77 LUSAKA 1977
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 05-Nov-2004 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3037122
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: CONVERSATION WITH JOSHUA NKOMO
TAGS: PFOR, PGOV, RH, (NKOMO, JOSHUA)
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/a0ee34b4-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009